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618 619 513 643 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 618 619 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 417 231 618 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 592 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up, but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 105–7.

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also grouped to the left of the man's hut, chief of whom are the *!gan* or servants.

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The huts themselves (*omi*) are much superior to those of the Bushmen, and well adapted to the nomadic life of the people (Plate XIV).[1] They provide an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, are light in weight, simple in material and structure, and can easily be taken down, packed up, transported, and rebuilt. The skeleton is a frame of long light pieces of supple undressed wood. Twenty to sixty of these, according to the size of the hut, are planted vertically in holes dug into the ground in a circle of three to five yards diameter. Their upper ends are then bent inward and tied together in the centre, until the framework is complete. The whole frame thus approximates to a hemisphere, varying in height but averaging about two and a half yards. Its erection is the work of the men. Withes are now twisted round the structure, and fastened on outside. Over these are tied layers of rush mats constructed by the women from reed grass, usually *Cyperus sp.* The stalks of reed are bored through and sewn together with bark thread. The finished mats are then laid round and directly over the wooden framework. Long mats are placed edgewise on the ground and tied to the sticks, other mats are placed higher up and tied in a similar manner, and one or two additional mats form the roofing. The hut when complete is of beehive shape. It is cool in the summer, when the rushes contract in the heat and allow the air to play freely through the hut; perfectly dry in the rain, when the rushes swell and grip closely to one another; while a lining of prepared skins makes it snug and warm in the winter. When the camp is shifted, the structure is taken down; the mats are rolled up and the sticks are tied into bundles. They are then transported to the site of the next encampment on the backs of oxen, some of which are specially trained to carry packs, and are there again put together.

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The main entrance to the hut is usually opposed to the direction of the prevailing wind, and on the other side is left a smaller opening. The main opening can be closed by means of a piece of rush matting just fitting into it, and attached to a cross-pole situated about three feet from the ground. This mat door can be rolled up and fastened or let down. The position of the opening is easily changed from one side to another, according to the direction of the wind, by shifting the

[1] By far the most complete description of the Hottentot hut is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 227–32; cf. also Kolb, op. cit., 106–8; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 208–10; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 306–7.

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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a [353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and [354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep. 513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their 595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by [594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife. 591 Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain altogether with her own people, the husband joining them permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in moving with them in search of water and grass will often act [361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together, it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Wandres, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term *!gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; *idem*, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

592 one of the numerous wars between the native peoples of South-W
357 Africa when families were scattered and children left helpless on t
veld. They were then brought up in the family of their rescu
performing various menial services, and in general consideri
themselves part of the family. Here and there such people s
offer their services voluntarily in return for their subsistence, or a
saved through pity from starvation and adopted.

They are to be regarded as servants or dependents rather th
as slaves. Often, no doubt, they are harshly treated, but they a
never bought or sold, and are free to marry as they will, althou
they generally remain attached to the same family for long perio
The men are entrusted with the care of the flocks, or accompa
their masters on the hunt and in the old days also to war, and in gene
must be ready for any kind of service. The women attend to domes
matters, clean the hut, fetch the wood and water, maintain the fi
and so on, and also milk the cattle, when the mistress or daugh
of the house does not herself do so.

463 These family servants, *!gan*, are to be distinguished from t
465 *!gaisan*, or herdsmen, who hire themselves to a person for an arrang
payment, which they receive, in the form of young lambs, at the tim
of the lambing season. The time of service is generally not specifie
and usually they remain with their employer for life, although th
[357] cannot be kept from departing when they wish. Their children a
free, but usually also remain as servants in the same family.

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614 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all con-
582 sidered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong
627 measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given
621 up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartboois even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the
● 592 same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they
[595] are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *L.c.*, p.

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young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother, who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special